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382 synthetic oil; at the end of 1943, despite increasingly heavy Allied strafing from the air, this output increased to over six million tons, almost 80 percent of which was produced by the Bergius method. More than half, and possibly as much as three quarters of that oil, was produced in the present captive area, mainly by the Leuna, Most, and Pölitz plants. At that time the synthetic oil plants were consuming 16 percent of all electric power produced by "Greater" Germany, and used 10 million tons of coal and 60 million tons of lignite per year.

Nearly all these plants were heavily damaged during the last months of the war and some of them, like Pölitz, practically [727] destroyed from the air.[32] When the Russians moved into the present captive area in 1945, they dismantled all Polish and many German plants and sent their installations to Russia. The Most plant, taken intact, was declared war trophy and subsequently returned to the Czech government in exchange for the Jachymov uranium mines nearby.[33] All remaining German plants were taken over by the Soviet "state trusts." Several of these plants, like Zeitz and Schwarzheide, belong to the Soviet trust, "Synthese," while Leuna and Lützkendorf constitute special units. Though situated in German territory, the synthetic oil plants are operated under Russian management and may be considered for all practical purposes as Soviet property.

It is difficult to appraise the present capacity and production of the synthetic oil plants in the captive area, since information on this type of production is a closely guarded state secret. It is known, however, that the Leuna, Zeitz, Böhlen, and one of the two Lützkendorf plants in Eastern Germany,[34] as well as the Most plant in Bohemia and the Dwory plant in Poland, do produce synthetic oil on a much lesser scale than during the last war. They also produce the innumerable by-products made by plants of this kind. Speaking on the subject in January 1951, the Eastern German minister of heavy industry, Selbmann, said that he was proud of the "balance-sheet" of this type of industry and its performance in 1950: the annual plan was overfulfilled by 16 percent, with particularly good results at Leuna and

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1 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

114 FOR A YEAR AND a half I had some concern with the Iron Curtain as United States Land Commissioner for Bavaria. ● 727 It took seven days of hard driving to inspect all of it that was of interest to our side. Across one part of it, that contiguous to East Germany, you could move rather freely if you were not an American. The other part, bordering on Czechoslovakia, was quite different. For here the Curtain on the Czech side was a strip of evacuated terrain, normally about four miles wide, inside which houses were falling into ruin and grass was growing up through the pavement. This was patrolled by young men in nondescript uniforms carrying tommy guns. Sometimes strange things happened, as when a group of Czechs commandeered a train and simply steamed across the border into the land of at least relative freedom. Or there was the afternoon when a coachful of aged and sick nuns was suddenly dumped on the platform of the German frontier station. Some of them died right there, and others were driven off by the Bavarians to friendly convents where they could pass their last days. One never knew what was coming—bullet or straggler or escapee

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seeking asylum. There was a campful of escapees, mostly Czechs and Slovaks, at Valka near Nuremberg.

We Americans used before the war to roam freely in the countries on the other side. Many of us either came from there or are descended from people who did. It is strange not to be able to cross the border now, and of course the fact makes it only too easy to consign the whole region to a sort of monochrome limbo. We need to remind ourselves constantly that here are some of the oldest, most cultivated, most individualistic, and most heroic of the nations of the West. Were one merely to list all the deeds of great valor which have been wrought here in more than two thousand years, or all the notable works of art, music, and literature which were created by men at home in these regions, the summary would be a brilliant one, indeed. Yet it is no doubt primarily dedication to religion that gave these cultures their individuality and vitality.

For convenience's sake we may follow Julius Caesar's example and divide the whole area into three parts. The first embraces the lands which were once portions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which collapsed in 1918 but, despite its faults, must in retrospect be termed one of the most coherent and civilized states known to modern history. Once I compared notes with Arnold Toynbee about the singular fact that wherever one crossed those vanished boundaries, whether to the north of Cracow or to the east of Budapest, the sense of coming into the familiar world of the West was immediate and unmistakable. There was a manifest ease and gracefulness of the art of living, reflected in all the many buildings, humble or ornate, in which that art found expression. Vienna, Prague, Budapest, Cracow, Zagreb, Bratislava—these cities were built by the collective genius which Austria somehow managed to evoke and nurture, even though the people who lived in them might more often than not talk of tyranny.

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The second part used to be called the Balkans, because these /21/
lands, north of the Greek seas, were identified with the mountains which traversed them. Ancient Rome had established its power on their slopes, and later the peoples who settled there after the Slovenian invasions of the Dark Ages accepted the faith of the Eastern Church. To this they clung with fidelity during centuries of subjection to the Turks; and as soon as their freedom had been regained this faith was everywhere restored in cities and rural communes alike. It is unfortunate that so little about this aspect of Rumanian and Bulgarian history has been known to us generally. Recalled recently with philosophic nostalgia in such books as Gheorghiu's *Twenty-fifth Hour*, some awareness of it is an indispensable prerequisite for judging what has happened during the last terrible years.

The third part consists of Poland outside the old Austrian /21/
border, the small Baltic States to the north (Latvia, Estonia, 927 •
and Lithuania) given back to bondage by Hitler in an hour of mad bargaining for power, and those territories taken from Germany in the aftermath of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences. The tragedy which has befallen these peoples is heartrending. It is believed, for example, that one-fourth of the population of Estonia has been deported to Siberia by the Russians. Whatever the blunders of all governments concerned may have been, it is difficult to read the chronicles of horror inflicted on their erstwhile subjects without shuddering. There is little even in the history of Nazi savagery which can outdo, for example, the conquest of German Silesia. Consider, by way of illustration, the fate of Neisse, center of Silesian Catholic activity, which was entered by the Russian army on Palm Sunday, 1945. After scenes of rape, murder, and violence almost unparalleled even in the long history of war, the little city with its priceless churches was put to the torch, so that the thousand inmates of the great home for the aged burned to death in their

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121 beds. All these lands will never again become what they once
● 727 were—regions of constant struggle and short-lived serenity, of poverty and its exploitation, of poetry, fervor, and sadness. Those of us who have, for example, seen peasant women trudging for many miles through the omnipresent dust to kneel for an hour at the shrines of Silesia will never forget either the fact or its meaning.

781 There is not a foot of the old soil of Central Europe which
156 has not been consecrated by endurance for the sake of the things of the spirit and the mind. Indeed, I have sometimes wondered, reading the Polish and Silesian poets and novelists, why the longing to hold out should have persisted during many difficult centuries—why, for instance, Polish forests in thrall to the Czars should have hidden priest and ritual with such fidelity. Perhaps the explanation, in so far as it is of this world, can be found in the deep human urge for the preservation of identity. Custom and language were vital symbols of the self, and without them men felt they could not live. But stronger than all else was the deep, primitive, mystical desire for identification with Eternal Righteousness, manifest to the believer in the life of the Redeemer. To give up the faith was to surrender not merely one's self but the world as well.

798 To be sure these men and women were very human, often
563 poverty-stricken and untutored, sometimes intolerant and oppressive. The effort to conserve themselves and their identity spilled over into moments of vengeful outrage inflicted upon others because they were different. Thus anti-Semitism has a long history in Eastern Europe studded with bloody pogroms. Although curbed in Austro-Hungarian regions it was latent there, too, as the shameful events of 1938 proved, but manifest elsewhere continuously with varying intensity. Or who can forget the repression of the Ukrainians in Poland under the Pilsudski government, the conflict between Czechs and Slovaks,

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10 The Structure of the Soviet Orbit

JACOB B. HOPTNER

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Political satellite systems are not unknown in recorded history. Maintaining the myth of independence, satellite governments are always similar in structure and political ideology to the primary political planet around which they revolve. Thus the path or orbit in which the secondary planets travel is preordained by the major planet.

I

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The Soviet orbit was born in the winter of 1944-45, when the standards of the victorious Soviet armies were firmly implanted by their bearers into the soil of Eastern Europe. By May 1945, the flag of the Kremlin flew from Stettin in the Baltic to the frontiers of Greece and Turkey. This territorial conquest cannot be ascribed to the success of Russian diplomacy alone. The decisions reached at the diplomatic conference tables merely confirmed the advances of the Red Army divisions. The diplomatic agreements, which were derived from wartime military developments, nevertheless contributed their share to the extension of Communism over Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union successfully utilized the

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main body of interallied agreements—particularly those of Moscow, Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam, along with the armistice agreements and the subsequent peace treaties—as their authority to impress the Soviet system of controls over the territories newly taken from the Germans.

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By the end of 1945, the Soviet Union was in a position to control the political destinies of Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria under the sanctions provided by the armistice terms. However, the process of coordination into the Soviet sphere was anything but smooth and gave little evidence of the much-vaunted Russian planning. Although Rumania was under the Russian thumb within twelve days after the signing of the Yalta agreement, that unhappy country remained a monarchy until December 1947. Czechoslovakia did not fall completely into the Soviet net until 1948, while Hungary fought a losing battle until 1947. Controlled elections elsewhere facilitated the extension of Communist power, so that between the period 1945 and the end of the year 1947 the process of political assimilation was completed. Local Communist parties were installed in all countries—save Yugoslavia where political control had been in the hands of the Communist Party since 1944—by the grace of the Soviet power. In this period the Soviet pattern of inculcating obedience through terror was rapidly imposed.

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From the Soviet point of view this revolution was but an action on the part of sovereign states, rather than of satellite states as that term is used in the West. Not only were the states of Eastern Europe sovereign, according to Communist doctrine, but the Communist parties that controlled the political life of their respective countries held that their major function was to protect the national independence of their states against the imperialism of the West. This theory had expression in the basic document of the Communist Information Bureau—the resolution on world affairs which appeared on October 5, 1947.

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648 significance. It represents the application of the old Russian distrust and fear of multilateral groupings formed by neighbor states along Russia's borders. This traditional attitude has been applied by the Kremlin to its satellites in the Soviet orbit to prevent federation schemes and especially closer economic and ultimately political ties between Communist Poland and Communist Czechoslovakia, that might eventually give groups of these countries bargaining power with the Soviet Union.

III

648 In any discussion of the Soviet orbit—particularly during
727 the developments of the first postwar years—a clear distinction must be made by the reader between two types of states. The first includes the former enemy countries: Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria. In the second are the countries that were in the Allied camp: Albania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia.

The former Axis satellites were required by the peace treaties to pay reparations not only to the Soviet Union but to certain allied countries as well. Thus Hungary was to pay reparations to Yugoslavia and to Czechoslovakia while Bulgaria was to pay Yugoslavia and Greece. Since payments were made in goods, they represented a budget item rather than items in international trade. The armistice agreements further established the right of the Soviet Union to charge Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania with the costs of occupation. The Potsdam Agreement also recognized the right of the Soviet Union to the so-called German and Italian assets located in the territories in these three countries. In this period the orbit served as a source of raw materials and a processor of finished and semifinished goods for the Soviet Union.

As early as 1945, the Soviet Union began to negotiate